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In fact, there was no escape from military duties except by assuming the status of a berdache, but they made no pretense of considering these duties as other than a disagreeable necessity. In their view the enemy, with unfamiliar garments and weapons and formidable courage, were evil magicians, and they were to be treated as such: avoided until they became too obnoxious, then killed with as much dispatch as possible.

It was because of their belief in the enemy's evil magic that the Papago took no booty. Nothing belonging to the enemy might be touched except by one who had been through the special purification to be described. Male captives were never brought home, and the females occasionally taken were sold to the Mexicans, not kept. Papago dead were left on the battlefield or burned there, though the usual custom is burying. Papago wounded must be purified. The only trophy brought home was the scalp or occasionally a belt or moccasin to take its place. In this trophy was thought to be concentrated the magic power of the enemy. The reward of the fighter for his labors was to possess this power and make it serve him.

War ritual can be divided into three stages, which logically should not all come under the same heading. The first two, which here have been called the rituals of the warpath and of victory, were really communal ceremonies. They were conducted by the whole community, or at least by all the warriors, and they had the regular form of a community ceremony: the oration by the priestly leader and songs by the group. Moreover, in the Papago mind, which abhorred emphasis on killing and revenge, their real result was supposed to be a magical one, bringing rain and crops.

The warpath and victory ceremonies are then actually food ceremonies. To this extent has the main interest of Papago life shaped and turned all its elements. The only ceremony for power is the third of the war rituals, warrior's purification, which conforms perfectly to the other purification formulae. Since to separate the three phases of war would make the narrative difficult to follow, all three have been described here as a continuity.

The first, which has been called the warpath, comprises all the preparations for war, up to the time of fighting. It must be de-

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Not to mind hunger,
Not to mind thirst,
To kick straight at kickball—
All of these virtues lying there
He did not grudge me.
I made them into a narrow bundle;
I seized them and went forth.

Toward the south were beautiful beads
And beside them beautiful earrings.
I touched them with my hand,
And I moistened my heart and healed it.

Toward the north was a road,
And there a great blackened stick [war club]
Painted with flowers.
Feathers were tied upon it.
Bird down was tied upon it.
In that direction [direction of the Apache]
Did they feel hostile toward me.
Then thither did I go,
Uprooting!
Breaking!
Throwing down!
Trampling!

Thus should you also think and desire,
All you my kinsmen.(7)

726 ●

When "the sticks were all knocked down," that is, when ten days had passed, parties from the several villages met at the foot of the Santa Rita Mountains, "for the top of the mountains belong to the Apache, the base to the Papago." This, as a rule, was their only night of ceremonies. Next day they would be in enemy country and would travel by night and sleep by day.

The official crier of one village was generally among the warriors, and he called all together for the warpath ritual.

[539]*

3. Now the night has reached this point [late]. Now we will do as is our custom. Now, at this point, deep night covers us, and thus we will do. In very old time began this custom, that wherever people live, they should gather together. Now this is our purpose; to teach our young men and to recite the ritual.(9)

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726 The men gathered in a circle, with the fire in the center. At the side of the circle, where they could be facing the enemy, sat the war leaders, with the senior at the left. Next to them sat the crier, and behind him a lance was placed upright in the ground. The man who recited the ritual held this lance as he spoke and then replaced it. When the men were seated, the crier called for the shamans of the party. These were a particular group, the owl-shamans, who could communicate with the dead. It was their function to speak to the spirits of Papago warriors killed in the enemy country and learn of the enemy movements. The crier named each shaman present, calling him by the kinship term. They came and took their seats inside the circle, in front of the leaders and facing the enemy.

726 One or more ritual speeches were then made,[4] the speaker being 537 any man who had learned the formula, perhaps during his period of war purification. Some speakers advanced to the center of the circle and grasped the spear.(12) Others sat with arms folded and head bowed. "You should not talk loud for a war speech. It is solemn." The speech was delivered in monotonous tones, with a strong emphasis on the last word of the sentence or phrase.

Two such speeches were recorded. One, from Santa Rosa, is a realistic description of a war party. The emphasis, however, is entirely on the preparations, the actual fight being disposed of in a single sentence. The speaker uses a warpath language analogous to the language used on the salt pilgrimage, in which important nouns are indicated by circumlocutions.[5]

726 537

SPEECH AT FIELD RENDEZVOUS[6]

STICKS LAID DOWN

4. Thus did I do.
The sticks, which I have broken,
I knocked them all down.
One after another.

[4] The same custom holds among the Maricopa, who may have adopted it from the Pima. The speaker must be one who has dreamed of the mocking bird. The speeches are in the first person, with "abrupt, staccato delivery" (resembling Papago salt speeches) Spier, p. 167.

[5] For the Pima version of this speech see Russell, p. 369.

[6] For a Pima war speech somewhat similar to this one see Russell, pp. 369–74.

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My kinsmen from elsewhere hither hastened
And stayed with me.
My poor fruit did they eat
And stayed with me;
My water did they drink
And stayed with me.

Then did I take my burning brand
And yonder go carrying it.
Just there on a little stretch of sand
I placed it,
Desiring a night of ceremonies.
Then I sat down and sat there.
Then soon they came to me, my young men;
With them I held the ceremonies.
Soon it was morning.

Then did I take my burning brand
And yonder go carrying it.
Just there, on the ground,
I placed it.
Then soon from all directions they came to me,
My young men.
With them did I kill
The big-eared ones [hares]
And the winged flyers [game birds].
There in a moving thing [river bed] did we camp,
Desiring a night of ceremonies.
Around us there was yellow [fat];
Around us there were ashes.
We ate our kill half cooked
Longing for dawn.

Then did I take my burning brand
And yonder go carrying it.
Just there I placed it;
There indeed I placed it.
Then soon they came to me,
My young men;
They snatched the remains of food
And westward ran.

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726 Just at the doors of some shelters there, they turned,
539 And stopped at last when they reached a little rock.
They snatched the remains of food
And northward ran
Across a ditch full of catclaw.
Then turned and ran
Across flood channels full of catclaw,
Where the thorns clutched them.
There they did not turn,
But on a little place where soapweed grew
And small stones were embedded
Met and stopped.
Straight as an arrow did I speed to meet them.

The little wild things, hard to kill [deer]
Were all around.
Then I went on.
Not a few big heads [black tailed deer] did my people kill.
And the white runners [white tailed deer] did my followers kill
In countless numbers.
In a place of reeds did we then camp
And held a night of ceremonies.
Around us there was yellow [fat];
Around us there were ashes;
There did I bring my former kill.
Half cooked, we swallowed it.
Soon it was dawn.

Then did I take my burning brand
And yonder go carrying it.
There on a camping place
I set it.
Then soon they came to me, my young men,
And on a little spot of ground
They stood around me.
Then I went on.
Not a few big heads did my people kill,
And the white runners did my followers kill
In countless numbers.
Under a little hackberry tree
Did we then camp

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And hold a night of ceremonies.
There did I bring my former kill;
Half cooked, we swallowed it.

Then did I single out a youth
And to Sleeping Eagle Mountain send him,
There to lie.
Toward Sleeping Eagle Mountain to draw close
And lie and watch.
Then did I single out a youth
And to Water Source Mountain send him,
There to lie.
Toward the water to approach,
And there to watch.

From Sleeping Eagle Mountain came the youth,
And said:
"Something running [game] which they have killed
I have found lying there," he said.
"Very well.
Keep lying there, keep looking, keep finding out.
Thus we shall know their doings."
Thus I said.
"And do not make a fire to warm yourself,"
[Which the enemy would see].

From Water Source came [the youth]
And said:
"Something running which they have killed
I have found lying there," he said,
"Very well,
Keep lying there, keep looking, keep finding out.
Thus we shall know their doings."
Thus I said;
"And do not make a fire to warm yourself."

[Again the first youth came]
Then thus I said:
"What news?"

"The outspread earth lies silent;
The seated rocks sit silent;

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The standing trees stand silent;
The running beasts run silent."

[Again the second youth came.]
Then, thus I said:
"What news?"

"The outspread earth lies silent;
The seated rocks sit silent;
The standing trees stand silent;
The running beasts run silent."

Then, thus I said:
"Come now! Make ready, my young men."
"Then I stood.
And I said something [term for ceremonial speech]
There was a trail lying in the middle [of the plateau]
There did I send some of my doughty youths.
They followed on and made four halts and saw
In a wet place there had been food gathering.
There were fresh tracks.
"They were carrying a load on their backs,
And twice they halted.
Ah! Here they were carrying it," he said.

"Good!
They have returned with their women
And with their children."
Thus, I said.

There did I send one of my doughty youths.
Four halts he made, and sometime in the night
Stole up to us, stepping lightly.
Quietly he met us and told me:
"The enemy in the open are camped.
No rocks lie around them;
No trees stand around them."
Thus he said.

Then did one of my young men
Make himself like a gray snake
And behind a rock he crawled on his hands and knees.
Then, lo! one of my young men

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Made himself like a murderous wildcat
And along a ditch he crawled on his hands and knees.

The dawn approached;
Then, leaping, in we went.

A lone enemy came forth;
Surprised, he looked about.
He broke a tree, and down he went rolling.
Then he who kills with his mouth [rattlesnake; a Papago warrior]
Took him, and down he went dragging him.
A lone enemy came forth;
Surprised, he looked about;
He slipped on the grass, and down he went rolling.
Then he who kills with his claws [hawk; a Papago warrior]
Took him, and down he went dragging him.

The sun stood at the rising point.
Then did we not continue to wrestle with them;
We destroyed them.(7)

The other speech recorded is from the south of the reservation. Here realism has entirely disappeared, and the words are a passionate and poetic call for men to do their duty. Again the preparations for war are stressed, but their end is a magic experience obtaining undying seed for all the community. The last phrase of this speech is the standard finale for all war speeches, speaking eloquently of the difficulty of moving a peaceful people to war: "Thus should you also think and desire, All you my kinsmen."

726 539x

5. Thus far have we come,
All you my kinsmen,
And have chosen for our resting place this land
Where sunset falls.
Here the standing dead trees have we broken,
And, having made fire,
We have placed our young men about it,
To tell of past happenings.
Here the dry grass have we pulled,
And, having spread it,
We have seated our youths upon it
To tell them something [ceremonial].

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*539 What I say to you now
Is the same that I told you yonder
Among the houses.
To the old men I said it.
To the old women I said it.
To the children I said it.
To the young women I said it.

Is my food so much to me
That I should put it to my mouth
And all day sit idle?
Is my drink so much to me
That I should take the sweet water poured out
And all day sit idle?
Is my wife so much to me
That I should gaze upon her?
And all day sit idle?
Is the child I have begotten so much to me
That I should hold it in my arms
And all day sit idle?

It was uncontrollable, my desire.
It was the dizziness [of war].
I ground it to powder,
And therewith I painted my face.
It was the madness [of war];
I tore it to shreds
And therewith tied my hair in a war knot.

Firm did I grasp
My well-covering shield
And my hard-striking club.
Firm did I grasp
My well-strung bow
And my smooth, straight-flying arrow.
To me did I draw
My far-striding sandals.
And fast I tied them.

Over the flat land did I then go striding.
Over the embedded stones did I go stumbling.
Under the trees in the gullies did I go stooping.

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Against the standing trees did I go hurtling.
Through the mountain ravines did I go brushing quickly.

After four halts did I reach
The shining white eagle, my guardian,
And I asked power.
Then kindly to me he felt, and he took forth
His shining crystal.
Our enemy mountains it made white as with moonlight
And drew them close,
And all across them I went striding.

Then, after four halts, did I reach
The very blue hawk, my guardian.
And I asked power.
Then kindly to me he felt, and he drew forth
His bright blue stone.
Therewith our enemy waters it made white as with moonlight,
And all around them I went striding.

There did I pull up and seize and tie together
All kinds of his fine seeds, fine clouds, fine winds;
Then did emerge
Thick stalks, thick tassels,
And the undying seed
Did ripen.

This did I do on your behalf,
My relatives.
Thus you should also think and desire,
All you my kinsmen.(9)

WAR SPEECH AT FIELD COUNCIL

Komarik

6. The stub of my cigarette I light in the embers. I put it to my lips; I breathe out. Then light will illumine my way. I will draw toward me my young men. I will give them bows, bow strings, and war arrows; round shields and thick clubs. I shall touch them all [in blessing]. I think and desire, all you my kinsmen, that you shall have a good life.(19)

After the speech the warriors applauded by "passing the kinship term," each man in the circle, beginning at the right of the speaker, calling out the term of his own relationship.

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speaker, calling out the term of his own relationship. After this, in some villages, there was sung the series of songs to drive away evil, lest any man's weapons had been subject to the influence of a menstruating woman and lest some shaman of the enemy was working spells against them. Then came the war songs. These were originally the songs sung by Elder Brother in his campaign to drive the first inhabitants from the land, but many other songs, dreamed by warriors, have been accepted.

Two cycles are here quoted, from two different informants. The first was the son of an enemy slayer, who claimed that his series was the orthodox one.

WARPATH SONGS OF INFORMANT 9[1]

7. Evening falls.
There I stand,
Looking at my enemy.

Morning rises.
There I stand,
Looking at my enemy.

8. The flat land is folding up;
I see it near.
The flat land is folding up;
The mountains are folding up;
I see them near.
The mountains are folding up.

Sung by Pitoi. The next morning the earth seemed to fold itself up and brought the enemy nearer.

9. There sits a crow
And sees my enemy.
There stands a crow
And sees my enemy.

10. Here I stand and look.
What is the mountain
Far off, blue?

Here I stand and look.
It is Crow Mountain
Far off, with a cloud on it.

[1] For somewhat similar Pima songs see Russell, pp. 286–89.

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11. Where is the shaman who will help me?
For I know nothing!

12. Crow! Little shaman!
He lights up the flat land.
Crow! Little shaman!
He lights up the mountains.

13. The land was covered with macaws.
The land was covered with macaws.
I came there.
I came there,
And saw my enemy
In the likeness of a macaw.

The mountains were covered with macaws.
The mountains were covered with macaws.

I came there.
I came there
And saw my enemy
In the likeness of a macaw.

14. Gray owl shaman
Comes with me.
Yonder he finds my enemy
And makes him helpless.

Blue humming bird shaman
Comes with me.
Yonder he finds my enemy
And makes him helpless.

I'itoi sang the following to mislead any spy in the company, so they would think he was Wahu shaman or Eagledown shaman.

15. Am I not Wahu shaman?
Smoke from the sleeping plant
I blow over my enemy.

Am I not Eagle Down shaman?
Smoke from the poison weed
I blow over my enemy.

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16. Very angry,
To the flat land he came,
My enemy,
Exceeding angry.

Very angry,
To the mountains he ran,
My enemy,
Exceeding angry.

17. The wind keeps running with me,
With it I run far yonder.
My enemy dizzily staggers forward.

The clouds keep running with me;
With them I run far yonder.
My enemy drunkenly staggers sidewise.

18. Coyote, comrade,
Run to meet the enemy!
Tomorrow, fight!

The second informant did not come from a family of enemy slayers, but had learned the songs from others. Though his songs are similar to the first, they are evidence of the variations which must have existed.

WARPATH SONGS OF INFORMANT 19

Sung at beginning of I'itoi's campaign before the three parties separated.

19. I shall become a shaman;
I shall become a shaman;
I see the distant flat land.
I shall become a shaman;
I shall become a shaman;
I see the distant mountains.

20. The sun stands there.
I see a mountain
Far off, with a cloud on it.
In all directions there is singing.

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The sun stands there.
I see Crow Mountain
Far off, with a cloud on it.
In all directions there is singing.

21. Wahu Shaman!
Here I come forth;
With the wind I come forth
And come hither.
This, my cigarette smoke,
I blow against the enemy.

Eagle Down Shaman!
Here I come forth;
With the clouds I come forth
And come hither.
This, my cigarette smoke,
I blow against the enemy.

22. Where is there a shaman to help me?
The flat land is foggy.
Where is there a shaman to help me?
The mountains are foggy.

Song to bring mist and fog to bewilder the enemy.

23. Invisible I run;
The flat land is foggy.
Invisible I run;
The mountains are foggy.

24. I make the bitter wind to blow
That thereby my enemy,
Staggering forward, shall grow drunk.

I make the bitter wind to blow
That thereby my enemy,
Staggering forward, shall grow dizzy.

25. Gray humming bird shaman,
Coming along with us,
Find my enemy and put him to sleep.
Gray owl shaman,
Coming along with us,
Find my enemy and give him nightmare.

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26. Gopher shaman,
Gnaw the bow
Of this, my enemy.

Hoot owl shaman,
Cut the arrow feathers
Of this, my enemy.

The Papago speaks

27. My crooked club
At the west came forth.

The Apache speaks

There even the enemy maidens,
Seeing it, laughed at me.

The Papago speaks

My flat shield
At the east came forth.

The Apache speaks

There even the enemy children,
Seeing it, laughed at me.

28. Coyote, our comrade,
Went to meet the distant enemy.
Overcome at the sight of their numbers,
He staggered every which way.

Buzzard, our comrade,
Ran to the nearby enemy.
Overcome at sight of their numbers,
He staggered every which way.
But when the sun stood yonder
Upon the flat land,
Drunken [with battle]
[Men] were staggering everywhere.

But when the sun stood yonder
Between the mountains,
Dizzy [with battle]
[Men] were staggering everywhere.

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29. Coyote, our comrade,
Runs to meet the enemy.
Tomorrow, fight!

The final song was usually the appeal to Coyote. During this song, at Komarik, one warrior danced in the trail leading to the enemy's country. At the final words all gave the warwhoop, pounded their bows on the ground, or struck their shields(19).

Meantime, the shamans had been looking for the enemy by the aid of their crystals or by conversations with passing owls. Some were able to blow smoke toward the enemy, causing blindness or a mist which would hide the Papago movements. At the end of the singing they announced where and when the Apache would be met. The men then lay back to sleep, but before doing so they rubbed their hands with a downward stroke over their eyes and breathed in the direction of the enemy to cause him to sleep.(19)

After entering enemy country there was no further ritual. "They only sang if they were in trouble and could not find the enemy," otherwise they traveled by night and slept by day.

The usual engagement took the form of an early morning raid, when they rushed upon an Apache village, killed a man or two, or perhaps only women and children, and made their escape. No fight could last long, for each of the few men, as soon as he had killed an enemy, must leave the conflict and await purification. This long and complicated procedure will be taken up separately.

VICTORY

The war party arranged its homeward journey so as to camp on the last night near the village and make an entry at dawn. They collected the Apache trophies (which might be scalps, ears, or merely a war shirt, moccasin, or belt), tied them to a long pole, and sent them ahead by a messenger. As soon as he was within reach of the village, the messenger shouted the names of the enemy slayers, that preparation might be made for their segregation. After this he called the names of any Papago who had been killed.

The young girls of the village immediately set out to meet the war party. They seized each man's weapons and danced with them,

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An Apache speaks.

727 539 23. Gila fields lie stretched out yonder.
Eager to see them,
Softly I crept thither,
This my feather headdress shaking.

A Papago speaks, of the Apache.

24. Plumed Mountain stands afar;
Toward it I crept;
A feather headdress
Was shaking.(26)

25. Kill the Apache; kill the Apache!
Dry the skin; dry the skin!
Soften it; soften it!
I am happy with it
A-a a-ah!
But there are still Apaches left.(9) [13]

727 The last song is used also for the dance around the pole.

After the war dance came the ceremony of purification, described below. Next morning the visitors might perform the visiting dance, or they might contest with the home village at racing or kickball. Sometimes the festivities lasted several days and large [525] amounts of property changed hands during the betting.

WARRIOR'S PURIFICATION [14]

726 783 The taking of a scalp or a trophy was the ritual act which brought a man into contact with the supernatural. The mere shooting of an enemy, without touching him, did not have this effect, and a man who was willing to fight, but shunned the ordeal of purification, might hand over his privileges and duties as an enemy slayer to a comrade. The leader sometimes instructed his men before starting: "If you wish to become an enemy slayer, you will take a scalp; but if not, do not touch the Apache scalps

[13] A similar Pima song is quoted by Russell, p. 335. Other victory songs on pp. 337–38.

[14] Russell (pp. 204–5) describes a very strenuous purification among the Pima, [171] but gives no speeches for it. In his account the warrior and his guardian wander about for sixteen days instead of sitting and waiting for a vision.

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or Apache property." Because power was so highly valued, there are recorded few men who refused the opportunity.

The word "scalp" has been used for convenience, but more often it was merely a lock of hair quickly wrenched off. Four hairs, two from each temple, were said to be sufficient, and the twists of hair the writer saw were a foot long and of finger thickness. The warrior who had taken such a trophy became instantly at the mercy of supernatural power. If he continued to fight, he would have no strength and would probably be killed; so he retired from the skirmish and painted his face black, the color it would wear during purification.

The leader kept track of his men, and when he saw that several had retired from the conflict, he called a retreat. The enemy slayers, from the moment of their act, became taboo to their comrades and must stay together at a distance from the others, their blackened faces giving the warning. An old man of the party, who had himself been an enemy slayer, was appointed to take charge of them. This man was addressed by the title *"nyi ókta"* (the one who is made my father). He called his charge "my younger sister's son."

Every act which this ceremonial godfather performed for his charges was surrounded with ritual, which he must have learned by heart during his own purification. The speeches he made usually described some supernatural experience attributed to the younger warrior. The latter was now expected to have visions in which he would undergo such experiences, and the recitals he heard must have served many an unimaginative young man as a pattern.

The guardian first tied up the men's hair, since they themselves were not allowed to touch their heads.

ENEMY SLAYER SPEECHES

ON TYING THE ENEMY SLAYER'S HAIR

1. Am not I, even I, your guardian?
   And I tell you Something.

   It seems that at the east there lives a great yellow buzzard,
   A great shaman.

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714 302 [822] an enemy and then all black (19, 26). Black paint was considered symbolic of dizziness and drunkenness and therefore of war. One of the chants says:

"My desire was the black madness of war.
I ground it to powder and therewith I painted my face.
My desire was the black dizziness of war.
I tore it to shreds and therewith tied my hair in a war knot."

701 726 When the war parties started out, each had a leader, either permanent or appointed temporarily by the council. The oldest and most experienced of these leaders would take charge of the combined expedition. There would be at least one crier who could make the announcements in camp, or one would be appointed by the leader.

726 756 787 Each village if possible brought a shaman to "see" the enemy and to recite spells to disable him. These shamans were of a particular class, the "owl meeters", who had owls for their guardian spirits. The dead are supposed to fly back from the east, where they live, in the form of owls. Dead Papago warriors, in owl form, haunted the enemy country where they died and with these the shaman communed.

The parties from the partner villages met at night at the rendezvous and went through a series of ceremonies. During these, it was the duty of the shaman to retire and to practise divination which would tell where the enemy might be encountered. If there were several shamans, they all worked together.

"Once the men from several villages met for a war party at Basket Cap mountain. At night they sat and sang the war songs, facing the country of the enemy. All that time the shaman sat apart, on a little knoll. When the singing was over, the leader asked the shaman, "Can you give us news?"

The shaman said, "I think there is one here who will help me." Then he went back to the knoll and the men heard the hoot of an owl. Soon the shaman came back to them. He said, "Has anyone here some of the old tobacco we used to use?"

One man had, so he gave it to the shaman. The shaman went away and the men watching could see that he lit two cigarettes. They could see their red tips moving as you see cigarettes that are held by two people. Then they saw one of them thrown away. The shaman came back, holding the other. He said, "The enemy are at Smooth Ground. We'll come up with them at noon tomorrow."

So they did and they killed many Apaches. If it had not been true, perhaps they would have killed the shaman." (19)

The war leader also sent out scouts and continued to do so as they advanced into the enemy country. They travelled by night and

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

hid by day until they encountered a troupe of the enemy or a village. The villages rarely contained anyone but women and children since the men were constantly away raiding. One attack on a village was described as follows: 726 756 787

"The men all separated and each one waited outside one Apache wickiup, till the signal to attack. My father was outside a wickiup where there were several women roasting something and he listened to their strange voices and wondered if they were saying, "The Desert People are here." Finally the signal came: the call of a roadrunner. Our men attacked, whooping. The women ran out of the houses and the men stood at the doors waiting to club them. My father took hold of an old woman but she was strong and wrestled with him. He called to the others, "Help! The old enemy woman is killing me!" So others came and they broke in the old woman's skull. A few other men killed but the rest of the women got away. Our men burned the houses and the booty and went home." (26)

If it was possible to locate a band of male enemies, they tried to "make a house for the Apache", that is, surround the band or trap it in a canyon. Various accounts tell how the shaman divined where the enemy would be and how this strategem was carried out. The archers shot first from ambush, then the men with clubs rushed in for close fighting. There were never very many of these and they were only the bravest men. They always advanced leaping and when leaping backward to retreat they held the shield behind them to break a fall. There was no mass formation and no commands from the war leader except the signal to begin. The affair was a series of duels where each warrior got his man, if possible, and then retired from the combat. 726

"My father and one Apache were separated from the others shooting arrows at each other. There was a giant cactus between them and each kept dodging behind it, till the cactus was full of arrows. They both knew a little Mexican and the Apache called out in that language, "I am a *man*!" My father shouted, "I, too, am a *man*!" Then they wrestled. My father was down and he shouted for help. His brother came and between them they clubbed the Apache. Then they were both Enemy Slayers."

Even if there was no Apache attack, a punitive expedition generally took place each winter to avenge some former raid. For this there was plenty of time and the villages of one or even two related groups might join. The Papago calendar stick which chronicles the events of the last eighty-five years provides a number of typical examples. [721]

1867-68. Some Apaches came to Worm Pond, while the people were singing for rain. They stole some horses and made off.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

726 Later a band of deer hunters, coming through Flat Wells, found Apache tracks. They sent to warn the people at Worm Pond but the messenger waited until after eating before he gave the news. The chief rebuked him and said, "Why didn't you tell us sooner?" Then all went for their horses and one man, approaching his, saw an Apache in the act of untying the hobbles. The Apache escaped. The Papagos followed the Apache tracks all night by moonlight. They would have caught up with them, but there was an evil shaman among the Papagos who advised his people to turn around and go home. So they did, although they were very near the Apache who were tired and expected death.

The next year Apache stole some Papago cattle and drove the animals through a Papago settlement to announce the fact. The Papagos rode after them and got into a canyon. The Apache were on a mountain top above them. There was an unequal fight. The Papagos captured a horse with some meat and rawhide tied on the saddle. The Apache wounded two Papagos.

Next year some people from Kuhatk went on the warpath. They came to a hill where the Apache had left their water bottles and spare moccasins. They thought the Apaches must be near and sent out two scouts who saw them gathered around a fire. The scouts returned and told the other Papagos who rushed in and clubbed all the Apache. Only one Apache shaman had felt evil in the wind and had made his escape with a friend.

Later that year, a man named Blisters led out another war party. At Buzzard Claw mountain one man had to leave and turn back. On his way some Apache spied him from a mountain top, came down, hid in the bushes where he would pass and shot him. The Papagos chased the Apache and found some cattle they had killed but could not catch up with the Apache themselves. The Apache were on a mountain top, which was always their place of refuge. They would come down a little way and then, if they saw the Papagos were still circling about, would go back again. Finally they made a dash down the mountain and got away. The Papagos saw a smoke signal ahead of them and then, as they followed, another and another, so they knew there was no use going on: more Apache were being summoned.

They went home, found the horse of the man who had been killed from ambush and finally followed the trail back to the man himself. [726] The man had been dead some days. They burned the body as was always done with an Apache victim.

The next year two Mexicans were killed by the Apaches near San Xavier and the Mexicans asked the help of the San Savier Papagos in avenging them. San Xavier sent word to their relatives at Coyote Village and told them to come without stopping for supplies: the San Xavier women would be grinding corn for them. The Coyote men came instantly and they all started that night. They travelled

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

all the next day and then camped close to the Apache village. Before dawn they attacked it and killed all the people who were asleep. Those who were awake escaped. The Papagos brought some children back as prisoners and kept them as their own. When they were grown and able to work, they sold them in Sonora for $ 100 each.

COMPARISON WITH PIMA

These narratives bear out the statement of the Papagos that they fought only in self-defense. They resemble the narrative of Pima battles,[1] except where the Pimas joined with their more organized neighbors, the Maricopas. They are decidedly at variance, however, with the accounts given of the "Pimas" by the early Spaniards. Kino reports in the Santa Cruz valley fortified towns and a chief who could command five hundred men.[2] Their battle in the open with agreements and challenges is entirely different from the Papago style of warfare, and resembles that reported for Yumas and Maricopas.[3]

".... the news reached the neighboring rancheria of Quiburi .... and immediately its captain, el Coro, came to the rescue with his brave people, together with other Pimas who had come from the west to barter for maize and who contributed to the fortunate outcome of the event, for they were supplied with the arms which we had bidden them to provide to go on the expedition with the soldiers of the presidio. The captain of the enemy, called el Capotcari, proposed — for with Captain Coro came many Pimas — that they should fight, ten on one side and ten on the other. Captain Coro accepted the proposal and selected ten Pimas, while Captain Capotcari selected ten others, the most valiant of all he had. Five were Apaches as was also one of the other five.

They began shooting their arrows, and, as the Pimas are very dextrous in shooting and also in parrying the arrows of their adversaries and as the Apaches, although dextrous in shooting arrows and with the lance, are not dextrous in parrying the arrows, five Pimas soon wounded the five Apaches who were their antagonists, as did four other Pimas their adversaries, who were the Hocomes and Xanos. Captain Capotcari was very skilful in catching the arrows but his opponent, a valiant Pima, grappled with him and, struggling, threw him to the ground and beat his head with stones. Thereupon, all the rest of the enemy began to flee and the Pimas followed them .... killing and wounding more than three hundred, of whom fifty odd remained dead and stretched out

[1] Russell, pp. 38—52.
[2] Russell, pp. 40,41.
[3] Allegre III, pp. 100—101.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

726 nearby, and the rest, as they were wounded with the poisonous herb, died along the trails.[1]

The "Pimas" here spoken of were the Sóba Jípuris who later became amalgamated with the people of San Xavier. There was probably a good deal of cultural difference between these agricultural eastern people and the western nomads whose unwillingness to fight was noted even by the Spaniards.[2]

PURIFICATION

783 727 The Spaniards, although they mention the scalp dance, say nothing of the arduous process of purification which constituted a killer an Enemy Slayer. The central idea of this seems to be that the enemy and all his possessions were dangerous. Contact with them, even though it was victorious, put a man in touch with supernatural power which could destroy him unless he fasted and dreamed in order to learn to handle it.

Therefore a man who had killed an enemy left the fight immediately. He blackened his face, fasted and used a scratching stick and kept away from the others until he was ritually purified. According to one informant, it was possible to avoid the ritual of becoming an Enemy Slayer, if one were willing to take the risk and waive the privileges it involved. Some men "like to fight but didn't dream much." These might ignore the killing of an enemy or turn the prerogatives of a Slayer over to another man. The idea of contamination attached also to a Papago wounded by the enemy. He must be segregated and go through the same purification as a Slayer. This was true even of a wounded woman.

"Once the Apache stabbed a woman at Field Pond. The Papagos had had the drinking ceremony and this woman's husband had stabbed her while drunk. The woman ran away to where the Water Whirls Around but her husband followed her on a mare and got her to come back with him.

West of the Place of the Dead Dog they passed a mesquite tree and some Apaches leaped out. The horse shied, the woman fell off and the Apaches stabbed her. However, they did not kill her.

She was then taboo just like a wounded warrior or an Enemy Slayer. She could not be taken into the village, but the Papagos built a fire and an old woman, the wife of an Enemy Slayer, came out to take care of her. Then they built a shelter and the old woman stayed with her for sixteen days." (19)

766 727 Dead comrades and all their possessions must be burned, not buried as was the usual custom. Dead enemies must not be touched

[1] Bolton, 1919, 1, p. 179. [2] Doc. Hist. III, v. 4, p. 892.

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

the house as soon as it began; she never waited a minute. She never touched my father's arrows nor even looked at them when she could hurt them. So she told him. Then she went straight out to the Little House so it would be safe for my father to mend his arrows and twist a new bow string. I took her food to her, and every day I would ask: "Has it come?" And on the second day she said: "Yes." So it passed and my father could go.

The men went early in the morning before light, and they were gone eight days. All that time we girls and women kept very quiet. When the older girls came home with a load of wood, they never threw it down hard; they placed it softly. We did not laugh nor talk loud. Old Leaf Buds came to see us. Her husband was going to take care of my father if he was a Killer. And Leaf Buds was going to take care of my mother. So my mother tried to finish the mat she was making, because if my father was a Killer she would have to be purified and then she could not work at all.

She talked to us while she was finishing her work and told us what to do, because she would be gone four times four days. I was little then and I thought it would be good to stop work for so many days. But some of the women did not like it. They asked their husbands not to be Killers. There was once a woman who was making a big basket and she wanted to get it done. But the men made up a war party. So she told her husband she was menstruating and he had to stay home. They say that woman never menstruated again.

The men were gone eight days. I know how that fight was because my father told me. We were not women who were afraid of war power. We were Killers' women.

The men from all the villages met at Basket Cap Mountain, and there my father made them speeches, sitting with his arms folded and talking low as all great men do. Then they sang the war songs:

Oh, bitter wind, keep blowing
That therewith my enemy
Staggering forward
Shall fall.

Oh, bitter wind, keep blowing
That therewith my enemy
Staggering sideways
Shall fall.

Many, many songs they sang but I, a woman, cannot tell you all. I know that they made the enemy blind and dizzy with their singing and that they

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

told the gopher to gnaw their arrows. And I know that they called on our dead warriors who have turned into owls and live in the Apache country to come and tell them where the enemy were. Facing the enemy they sat, while they sang, that they might bring darkness upon him. 159x 533 726

All that time the medicine man sat alone on a little hill waiting for the owl-dead to come to him. He had dreamed of owls himself and so he could speak with them. They always took an Owl-Meeter on to war with them to call the dead who are our spies. 159x 787 726

Soon that medicine man came back to the others and said: "Has anyone some of our old, wild tobacco?" They gave him some. Then he went back and they saw lights when he made two cigarettes. They saw those lights move as cigarettes do when two people are smoking. They heard the medicine man talking, very low, and then they saw both cigarettes thrown away. The medicine man came back and said: "The enemy are at Smooth Ground. We will come up with them at noon tomorrow."

So they did. They jumped on the enemy and fought. When our men go toward an Apache, they do not just walk. They leap. My father got separated from the others, he and one Apache. There was a giant cactus between them. You know a cactus trunk is as wide as a thin man. Each shot at the other, and the other dodged behind the cactus till it was stuck full of arrows to the height of a man. 159x 726

They could both talk a little Spanish, so they shouted at each other. The Apache said: "I am a *man*." My father: "I, also, a *man*!" They threw down their bows and arrows and started wrestling. My father was down. Far away, his brother saw that and came running. He clubbed the Apache from behind. My father got up and clubbed, too. So he was dead and my father and his brother were Enemy Slayers.

They stopped fighting right away because an enemy's death lets power loose. You must take care of yourself until you have tamed that power or it will kill you. You could not stand against arrows with such power around you. You would be like a sick man. You would fall. So they painted their faces black to show what had happened. They carried black paint for that in little deerskin bags. They stood away from the others, and other men who had killed came to join them. 159x 727 998 [302]

The leader of the fight saw and he sent an old man who had killed, himself, so that he was not in danger. That man kept them away from the other men the way you keep away people who have a sickness. He made them walk behind the others and camp away from them all the way home. They never mixed their cornmeal for themselves. He mixed it for them—oh, so very little! Brave men do not want to eat when they are getting

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

them in and did what they said." About 1925 half of the members split off into the League of Papago Chiefs, a group in opposition to the superintendent and the old League. The conflict rapidly became acute. Agency employees and other whites (including missionaries) supported one faction against the other. The opposition won out, and the superintendent was removed in 1929. The Papago say that the influence of this split still exists and that the two groups oppose each other to this day, though the two leagues have officially disappeared.

Another attempt at organization was made when three lawyers offered to represent the Papago in pressing certain claims against the United States. The Secretary of the Interior required that three Papago representatives be elected by a general council of the tribe and be authorized to sign the contract with the attorneys. Of the four men elected as officers of the General Papago Council, two came from the superintendent, and one had been neutral. All of them were boarding-school men from the southeastern part of the Reservation. The ensuing negotiations resulted in strife and factionalism among the Indians, for the rumor was circulated that the executive committee had promised the lawyers large sections of tribal land. Even near-by non-Papago towns were alarmed lest clear titles to their lands be impaired. When, at the recommendation of the lawyers, the Reservation was withdrawn from all types of mineral entry (restored with the Reorganization Act), there arose a real hue and cry from all sides. The attorneys' contract was not renewed in 1934, and most of the Agency personnel was transferred.[7]

When the new superintendent arrived in 1934, he saw the Reservation largely in economic terms and began to reorganize it to develop the cattle industry; his plans included systematic range management, grazing districts with fences, a cattle association, and an organization to provide for local self-government. In October, 1934, representatives from twenty-five villages met in Sells and signed an agreement with the government providing for some of the economic portions of this program.[8] The Indian Reorganization Act was accepted on December 15, 1934, and the Papago Tribe became legally a political unit.

To provide a basis for self-government, the Papago elected a committee of twenty men to draft a constitution. Only three of the western villages, however, participated in the elections, and five of the six-man committee which ironed out differences of opinion were *kokoloiloi* members of the southeastern

7. Account drawn from U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, *Annual Statistical Report, Sells Agency . . . , 1935*, pp. 35–37, and from personal inquiry.

8. The cattle association never materialized because of too strenuous opposition.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

666 642 dialect group. The people insisted that tribal law and custom should be the basis of the constitution. Some of the provisions based on white concepts, such as fenced districts, met with great opposition, but the constitution was finally ratified in 1936 by more than two to one, in an election in which about a third of those entitled to vote did so.

642 The constitution divided the main Reservation into nine districts, the small reservations at San Xavier and Gila Bend constituted two additional districts. Each of these districts was empowered to elect a council to provide local self-government; each district council in turn was to send two delegates to the tribal council, who should continue in office for two years or until recalled and replaced by the district council. District councils were formed shortly after the constitution was ratified, and the tribal council was set up soon after. It has functioned regularly ever since.

THE TRIBAL COUNCIL

646 642 The constitution provided that the welfare of the tribe as a whole should be in part the responsibility of the tribal council and that it should carry full responsibility for tribal business enterprises discussed in chapter iii: arts and crafts, the tribal fair and rodeo, loans, and the tribal herd. The tribe through its council has full rights of defining membership, administering tribal law with regard to members of the tribe, levying taxes, and handling its own monies. In all other spheres the superintendent of the Reservation has final authority, but conscientious efforts are made to introduce no program which has not been thoroughly discussed and agreed upon by the council. The majority of matters discussed in council meetings are brought up at the suggestion of the superintendent, but members know that their recommendations, objections, or suggestions will be carefully considered. If they defeat an Agency proposal, it may be brought up for further discussion at a later time, but their approval is essential to the success of any program.

As with any representative body, much of the value of the council's work depends upon the support of the general public. The system set up by the Papago constitution is actually a structure of white concepts of majority rule and representative government superimposed upon the old system of unanimous agreement in village councils. It will take time for the people to learn to manipulate this new political tool.

646 642 184 Generally speaking, it is the men from the eastern districts who are active in tribal politics; many of them have learned white concepts of government in boarding school. It is obvious that leadership remains in the hands of a few, though a quorum is always present at council meetings, and all members listen carefully

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

X 533

No. 70. Song of the Dawn (Catalogue No. 1027)

Recorded by RAFAEL MENDEZ

TRANSLATION

It has been a long time since the light began to show, my brother.
Just look, my brother.
Toward us the bows are brightening (referring to shafts of light bent above their heads like long bows).

Analysis.—This song was recorded by four singers in order to show the manner in which several men sang together. The opening tones were sung by Mendez alone, the other voices joining his at *X* and continuing together until the close of the four renditions. The slower tempo occurred at the close of each rendition. The song is harmonic in structure, which is unusual in the present series. The melody tones are those of the fourth five-toned scale. An ascending fourth occurs four times and is an interesting peculiarity of the song. Fifteen of the twenty-five progressions are whole tones. Mendez recorded the song alone, as well as with the other singers, the transcription being from his own rendition.

726 843 715 The Komotan affected warriors and unborn children. It was a requirement among the Papago that the father of an unborn child should provide his own food when on the warpath and avoid the food of those who had killed Apache. He must also avoid giving offense in any manner to the spirits of dead Apache. If he failed in these requirements his child, when born, would be troubled by an Apache spirit. If he killed an Apache his wife must not drink much water nor eat any salt until after the birth of the child.

X 533 Two songs used in treating the Komotan sickness were recorded by Kiyatan, whose father was a medicine man of high standing.

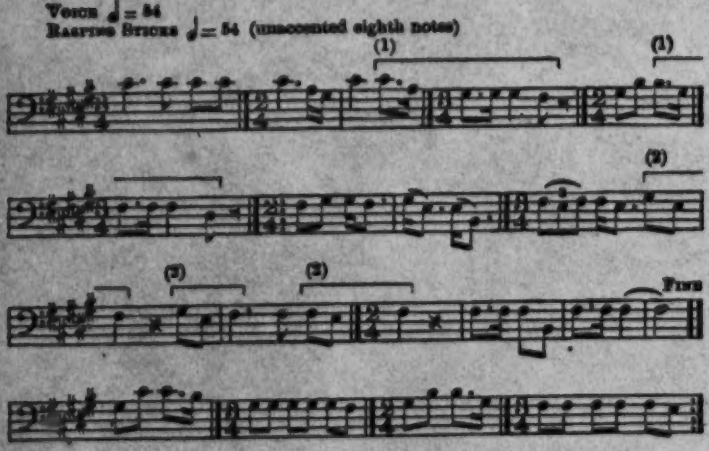
6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

533X

No. 125. "The Sun Rises Over the Mountain"

(Catalogue No. 1030)

Recorded by Jose Hendricks



TRANSLATION

A mountain called Hoötho, on top of it the sun rises,
It seems to waver,
A mountain called Hoötho, on top of it the sun sets.

Analysis.—The first rhythmic unit of this song occurs first with C sharp and then with B as its initial tone. The second rhythmic unit is an urgent little phrase, repeated on almost the same tone and ending with an upward interval. The rhythm of the connecting phrase resembles but does not repeat the first rhythmic unit.

WAR SONGS

The ancient tribal enemy of the Papago was the Apache. It is said by the Papago that they never went to war against the Apache except in retaliation for some injury done them by members of that tribe. The following incident was said to be concerning the first war expedition of the Papago against the Apache. 724

A woman named Pulhaă was married and before a child was born the food was scarce so her husband went to hunt *sivas*, a small animal that lived in the mountains. He "scared one up" and it ran into a hole. While he was digging to obtain the animal some Apache killed him. As he did not return in a few days his friends went out and found him there. They gathered wood and burned his body, and when his wife saw the flames she sang this song. 539X

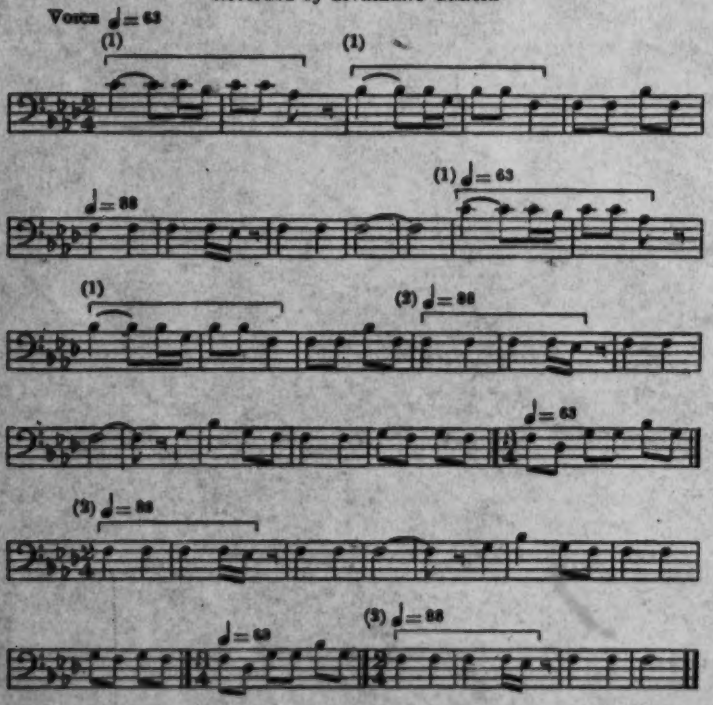
6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

533 X

No. 129. "While We Drink the Wine"

(Catalogue No. 921)

Recorded by SIVARIANO GARCIA



TRANSLATION

We make wine.
With deliberation we took our revenge.
We make the scalp poles hop like crows while we drink the wine, but let us keep our self-control while we are rejoicing.

Analysis.—A change of tempo is a striking peculiarity of this song, reflecting the conflicting impulses expressed in the words. The change of tempo usually occurs during a rhythmic period, not between such periods. There are recurrent phrases other than those marked as rhythmic units and a comparison between the count divisions of the rhythmic unit is interesting. This song is minor in tonality and, like the song next preceding, makes an effective use of the tone below the keynote. Ascending and descending intervals are about equal in number.

It was said the Papago did not go out to make war on the Apache but followed them when they came into Papago country and stole

726

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

726 property. The Apache raids and the campaigns of the Papago against the Apache usually took place in cold weather. A war party was well organized, and it was customary to try to have a messenger reach the Papago village every morning with news from the expedition. There were no songs at the meetings before the departure of the warriors, but long speeches were made. These were not formal, memorized speeches like those made after the expedition had started, two of which are contained in this description. It was an old belief that a war party that did not carry an eagle feather would not be successful.

726 224 In the late afternoon the warriors divided into groups and chased wild game for their evening meal. An old informant said that neither bows and arrows nor a club was allowed, and the men were required to catch the game with their hands. Another man said these were allowed but firearms forbidden. Sometimes several men chased one jack rabbit. The proper way was to catch the rabbit around the neck, but if several caught the same rabbit it was usually torn in pieces, each man keeping the part he held. A little fire was made but its light was carefully shielded lest the enemy should see it. Over this fire the meat was slightly heated, but the practice of eating meat almost raw was said to "make the men fierce." A little pinole was carried by the warriors, and San Xavier was the last place at which war parties going east could obtain this part of their equipment.

726 x533 791 After the warriors had finished their scanty meal the leader addressed them as they sat in a great circle. The medicine men sat at a little distance toward the enemy and the singers were seated by themselves. It was the duty of the medicine men to locate the enemy, while the singers augmented their power by singing with them or "for them." Such were the only songs used by men on a war expedition. In his address the leader encouraged the warriors and, if if the campaign were particularly difficult, he appointed certain men as "killers" while others were designated to protect them. Such an organized attack was different from a haphazard fight in which everyone shot. After this had been arranged the time was given over to the divinations by the medicine men, assisted by the singers. The following is the opening song which was sung by the singers for the medicine men, the purpose being to increase their power.

6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

The medicine men worked one at a time and each had his own songs. The singers knew these songs and when a man was at work they sang his songs, the purpose being to augment his power in this manner. The methods employed by the medicine men were somewhat individual. For example, one man was accustomed to set an arrow in his bow and point it first in one direction and then in another as if he intended to shoot the arrow. By this action he seemed to "test" the direction of the enemy. Some men used a wand, pointing it in the general direction of the enemy, and others extended their hands. A man might extend his right hand toward the enemy and his left hand behind him, giving signals to the singers. A certain man used a wand in this manner and it was his custom to move it up and down rapidly four times if he wanted the singers to sing faster and louder, doing this when he felt that he was finding the direction of the enemy and desired a strengthening of his power.

The idea of the next song is that the medicine man brings the enemy so near that the warriors can see them.

No. 132. Song for the Enemy's Country (Catalogue No. 925)

Recorded by Sivaniano Garcia

WORDS

Cyĕvŏt	miăwa	yuŭld	miăwa	nŭtha
The land	nearer	appears	in sight nearer	we can see
nyĕmaltha	miăwa	yuŭld		
my enemies	nearer	appear in sight		

Analysis.—This song is classified as major in tonality with D flat as its keynote, though it is a particularly free melody. The keynote is next to the highest tone in the song, which is unusual. There is an urging quality in the short phrases which have a descending trend. This effect is changed by the 5–8 measures and the song ends with an ascending progression which suggests a query.

One of the medicine men had power to summon a "spirit coyote" and send it forth as a spy. He sent the coyote early in the morning to see how the enemy could be attacked most effectively and said the attack should be made as soon as the coyote returned, which would be in a short time. The power of another medicine man lay in his ability to call the winds and clouds. The Apache would hear a wind,

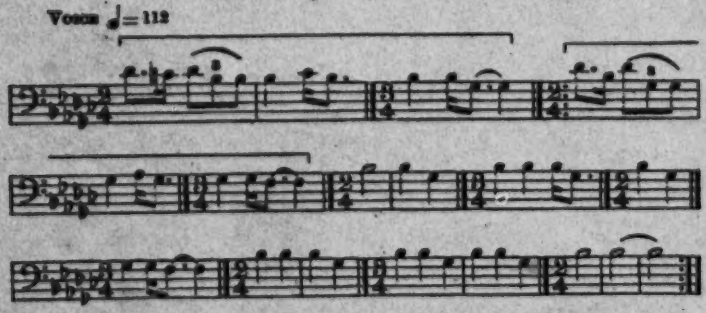
6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

and clouds would gather with the noise of an approaching storm. This caused them to stay at home and the Papago made their attack before morning. The Chippewa and Sioux medicine man who accompanied a war party also sang songs to bring a storm so that the enemy would remain in their tents and the war party make an effective attack.

The following song of the Papago medicine men could be sung at the close of the *Lime*, as well as on the warpath.

No. 133. Song to Bring the Clouds (Catalogue No. 926)

Recorded by SIVARIANO GARCIA



WORDS

Cĭwakĭki	wùmlă	hĭmtha	wùmaci	gamùko
Clouds	together	going	with him	far away
hĭmtha	nyĕmaltha	sasakali	nanaki	
going	my enemies	staggering	as if crazy	

TRANSLATION

Heavy clouds going with him.
Clouds going far away.
Our enemies stagger as though drunk.

Analysis.—Two distinct rhythms occur in this song, one represented by the rhythmic unit and the other consisting chiefly of quarter notes. A curious interruption of rhythm occurs midway through the song. The second and third measures are duplicated in the tenth and twelfth (with a slight change in accent), while the ninth measure, with its double time, is inserted between them. The minor thirds at the close of the song are somewhat similar to those in No. 130. The song has a compass of six tones and is harmonic in structure.

When the medicine men said they had succeeded in locating the enemy it was customary for speeches to be made by the warriors. Any man who knew these speeches could rise and deliver them. After such a speech the men made a false charge, rushing forward against an imaginary enemy.

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

726 After these speeches the men gathered up their belongings and went to the place where they camped. Soon after daylight they made the attack.

755 All the medicine men who accompanied a war party carried herbs for the care of the wounded, but used them only if singing and the exercise of "magic" power had failed. In that event a medicine man tried herbs and warm water, washing the wound or administering an herb drink. There was no singing with this treatment. When the man began to improve it was customary to apply a poultice to his wound, consisting of powdered root prepared either with or without water. The medicine man carried his herbs in a buckskin bag.

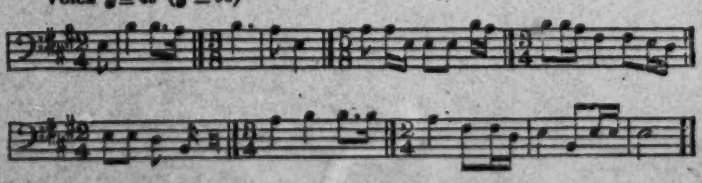
727 A war party returning victorious was always preceded by a herald who reached the village about daybreak. The man chosen for this duty was usually a good singer, but Hugh Norris said his father told of an instance in which the herald could not sing. This man made up a sort of song in which he said that he could not sing but the Papago were victorious, and then he began to yell, which spread the good news quite as effectively.

X 533 The song next following is concerning the man who announces the approach of a victorious war party.

No. 134. "The Voice of the Herald"

(Catalogue No. 1069)

Recorded by JUANA MARIA



TRANSLATION

When the morning starts and the sun comes up.
When the morning starts and the sun comes up.
At that time the voice of the herald sounds sweet.
It seems to be calling to me.

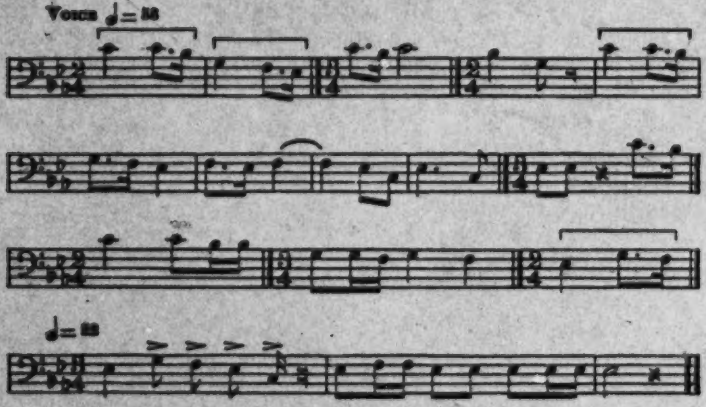
Analysis.—This song is transcribed with A as its keynote, although neither C sharp nor G sharp are present. This tone material is the first five-toned scale, according to Helmholtz's designation of pentatonic scales. Progression is chiefly by fourths and whole tones. The first six measures contain a downward trend of an octave. These are followed by a short rest and an ascending seventh. The rhythm changes and the last four measures have a ring of triumph, as though the herald were announcing a victory. The melody progresses chiefly by fourths and whole tones.

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

X 533

No. 140. "A Place of Many Springs" (Catalogue No. 1019)

Recorded by RAFAEL MENDEZ



TRANSLATION

I am running on the side of the east.
The people began to push us to where the land has many springs.
There is where they left us.

Analysis.—This is one of the brightest, most attractive songs recorded among the Papago, and we seem to feel in it the joy of a desert people in the presence of water springs. They had been pursued by the enemy, but had come to a pleasant place. It is interesting to note the change of tempo occurring in the third from the last measure, followed by emphatic descending eighth notes. A dotted eighth note appears on both the accented and unaccented counts. The tone material is that of the fourth five-toned scale.

726
X 533

The next song was said to refer to an incident which took place in the wars with the Apache. A member of that tribe was either wounded or worn out with the long battle and was trying to escape. The Papago followed him with jeers and yells. The man repeatedly staggered and fell, then struggled to his feet and went a little farther, falling again. The Papago yelled whenever the man fell and finally killed him as he staggered, killing him before he reached the ground. Rafael Mendez asked that several sing with him when recording this song. One singer gave the "yells" which occurred at the points marked "X" in each rendition. These were shrill cries, about the duration of a quarter note of the song. It was said that the yells ought to have been given by a woman, as that was the custom of the tribe, the song growing louder as it progressed but the yells growing softer toward the end of the repetitions of the song. In this, as in numerous other instances, the musical customs of the Papago

X 533

231 When the Jesuits left the country most of these animals went wild, as did those of mining towns and ranches deserted through fear of the Apaches. Thus the "Pimas" early had an opportunity to secure and train horses for themselves, and this was beginning even in Kino's own time. "A few (cattle from frontier posts) remained and went wild. The mares produced colts and these the Pimas caught and raised" (18, p. 246).

The nomadic desert people seem to have had little share in this early horse era. In tales told of the grandfathers [482] of old informants, men were still going about the country by running thirty to fifty miles a day and war parties 726 were conducted on foot, "because the Apaches got horses 231 before we did." As the Apaches were gradually subdued by the Federal Government communication grew easier and horse owning spread. On the last war parties in which [492] fathers of informants took part, horses were the rule. At present scarcely any man is without a horse and many families have a wagon and team. In 1931 there were 10,700 horses to 2,679 men (21).

231 Cattle were taken up much less easily. The wild ones were killed for their meat, and especially their hide which has been the material for Papago shields and sandals for two hundred years. The Federal Government has made a policy of giving the Papagos cattle on credit, and in 1931 there were 22,930 head of grade cattle to a population of 5,228 (21). Thus riding the range has succeeded hunting as the occupation of the average young man.

In an earlier day, reservation residence required an adjustment to a desert environment. This being the case, towns were always near a source of water and near acceptable pasture and flood water farm land. At the present time, with wage work becoming increasingly important, in fact essential to the great majority of Indians during some period of the year, residence near a source of wage work is also important. 178 361 433 [464]

Another change in Papago life has also been noted. As recently as thirty or forty years ago community needs were simple and most Papago villages were self-sufficient. Today this is true only for Sells. Other villages look elsewhere for one or another of the essential community services: shopping, education, health services, religion, government, and the like. These needs are met in a slightly different fashion in each of the nine districts. 178 621 628

Babocuivari District. Although the districts -- as political subdivisions of the main reservation -- were established in 1937, long after the founding of most villages, certain internal district relationships have been built through time which are now important. In Babocuivari district Topawa serves as the voting place in tribal and district elections. It is also the center for the education of Catholic youngsters, and is the ceremonial center for Catholic activities throughout the reservation. Native ceremonial activities and traditional folk medicine centers 634 621 628 368 [666] [797] [796]